

TYRANNY

AND

POPERY

Lording it Over

THE

CONSCIENCES,

Lives, Liberties,

AND

ESTATES

BOTH OF

KING

AND

PEOPLE.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the Gun at the
West End of *St. Paul's Church-Yard*. 1678.

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LONDON

Printed for J. B. G. at the Old and New Churches in St. Paul's Churchyard.

TYRANNY AND POPERY

Lording it over the Conscien-
ces, Liberties, and Estates
both of *King and People*.

To all those that Love either their *Re-
ligion*, their *Prince*, their *Country*, or
Themselves.



*His, and no less than All
This, is the Import of the
Matter in Question. The
Government is charg'd
by a Faction to be Ty-
rannically, and Popishly
Affected; and This Pam-
phlet is to Prove, that the very Faction
which charges This upon the Government,*

is in all Matters Ecclesiastical, and Civil, Publique and Particular, the great Imposer, and Usurper it self.

But before I enter upon the Subject, I do here previously Swear by the Hopes of a Christian, that I am not mov'd to this Discourse by any Biass, either of Partiality, or Faction; That I have no Aversion to the Party, any further than as I find them the Mortal Enemies of our Government, Laws and Freedoms, and that in the Prosecution of this Argument, I will not Press one Syllable, (according to the best of my Skill, and Knowledge) beyond the strict Limits of Truth, and Reason; My Purpose being only to Uncover the Pit, that the Unwary may not a second time run Headlong into the same Precipice. I shall begin with the Platform of the Scottish Presbytery, and shew you the Sovereign, and Unaccomptable Power which that Judiciary claims to it self. My next work will be, to observe the Harmony betwixt Simeon and Levi; Their Consistorians, and Ours, in the Frame, and Scope of their Discipline. In the next place, we'll Compare their Positions, and then conclude,

clude, with a View of their Usurpations, Arbitrary Practises, and Proceedings: and all This, extracted from the Undeniable Memorials, and Records of the Times, and Actions, whereof we are about to Treat; and in as few words as may be, to speak Home to it, and Clear.

The Platform of the Scottish Presbytery.

THE Presbyterian Government has Four Judicatories. A Parochial Session; A Presbyterian Consistory; A Provincial Synode; And A General Assembly.

The Parochial Session is constituted of One Minister, or More, with a Competent Number of Lay-Elders (their Presbyteri non Docentes) and Deacons. It meets once a Week, or oftner, if there be Occasion, and takes Cognizance of all Parochial Cases concerning External Order, and Censure. If there be but One Minister in the Parish, he is Constant Moderator: If More, they take their Turns as they

they can agree upon't ; and they are all of them Equal in Honour, and Jurisdiction. There passes no Act without the Joynt Consent of the *Minister*, *Lay-Elders*, and *Deacons* ; or *Plurality of Votes* ; and Note, that the *Minister* has no *Casting Voice*. The Power of *Binding*, or *Loosing* ; of *Censures Ecclesiastical* ; and of *External Order*, and *Worship*, is Radically, and Equally in All : So that the *Lay-Elders*, and *Deacons* have as much the Power of the Keys, as the *Ministers*.

To support this Jurisdiction, they have their *Four Sacred Orders*, which they challenge to be of *Divine Right*. First. Their *Preaching Elders* (whom they call *Ministers*.) Secondly. *Doctors* (or *University Professors*.) Thirdly. *Lay*, or *Ruling-Elders*, who have as much Authority in the Debate, and Decision of Matters of Faith, Worship, Polity, Ecclesiastical Censures ; as the *Preaching-Elders*. Fourthly. *Deacons*. Take notice that their *Lay-Elders*, and *Deacons* are *Annual*, and Consequently one Year Sacred, and Another Profane.

This *Session* meddles only with things *Parochial*, as the Ordering of the *Parish-Church*,

Church, and Peculiar Service; the Censure of Lesser Scandals; as Fornication, Drunkenness, Scolding, Sabbath-breaking, &c. And in Difficult Cases, they apply themselves to the Presbytery.

In their *Censures*, they impose *Civil Punishments*, and *Fines*; they Emprison Offenders at pleasure; Cart them through the Town; set them in Pillories; Shave one Half of their Heads; Cut off their Beards: Nay, they take upon them by their own Authority to *Banish* whom they please out of the Bounds of the Parish; which is a Direct Usurpation of *Sovereign Power*: In Case of a *Pecuniary Mulet* inflicted, or of a Child born in Fornication, they will not allow the Infant to be Baptiz'd, if either of the Parents have not paid the Fine, or secur'd it, or satisfi'd the Church.

The *Presbytery* is next; and it is made up in some places, of *More*, in others, of *Fewer Parishes*, and the King himself is not Exempt from the Power, and Jurisdiction of this *Consistory*; nor in Effect from the Authority of the very *Parochial Session*,

Session, living within the Precinct, either of the One, or of the Other. This *Judicatory* is Compos'd of all the *Parochial Ministers* within its Compass, and a *Lay-Elder* for *Each Parish*: so that the *Lay-Elders* are Equal to the *Preaching Elders* both in Number, and Power; and a *Botchers* Vote goes as far under that Capacity, in Divine Matters, as the Voice of the most Reverend, and Learned of the Clergy; only a *Lay-Elder* cannot properly be a *Moderatour*; tho' in several Cases they have dispens'd with that Scruple.

This Court takes Cognizance First, Of what is *Referr'd*, or *Presented* to them from every *Individual Parish*. 2. Of all *Capital Crimes*, and *Scandals* of the Highest Degree. 3. Of such Offences as fall under the Censure of *Excommunication*. 4. Of all *Appeals* from *Sessions*. 5. Of all Differences that cannot be Compos'd, or Determin'd in the *Parochial Conclave*. 6. Of the *Visitation*, and *Censure* of what's amiss in *Every Parish*, either in *Preacher*, or *Other*. 7. Of the appointing of *Readers*, and *School-masters*.

The

They meet commonly once a Week, or a Fortnight; at which Meetings, all the Ministers, in their Turns, *Exercise* (as they call it) in the expounding, and applying of Texts of Scripture: In these *Exercises* they have a sort of People which they call *Expectants* of such or such a *Presbytery*, who are Licensed to Preach in any Parish-Church within its Bounds. These *Expectants* have usually some smattering in Divinity; as Country-School-Masters, or the like: and they are Authoriz'd to do all *Ministerial Acts*, except *Baptizing*, or Administring the *Lord's Supper*; without *Holy Orders*, *Imposition of Hands*, or any Qualification for the Sacred Function. There are more or fewer *Presbyteries* in a County, according to the Number of Parishes; but all of them Independent One from Another: If the King himself be Cited, he must *Appear*, or be *Excommunicate* for *Contempt*; and submit his Earthly Scepter to their *Scepter of Christ*, as they term it, and from thence, receive *Christ's Laws*, and *Ordinances*. As no Person is Exempt, so neither is any *Crime* whatsoever that

is either Committed, or suspected to be Committed within the Limits of their Jurisdiction; but they hook it in, as scandalous to a Christian Profession.

A Provincial Synode is an Associate Body of the Commissioners chosen out of all the Individual Presbyteries, within the Precinct of the Province: they meet twice or thrice a year, and Exercise an Over-ruling Power over all the Presbyteries within that Province, in such manner as the Presbytery superintends the Parochial Session. In this Judicatory the Leading men of the Faction lay their Heads together; form their Projects; and when the Commissioners return from hence to their several Presbyteries, they intimate to the Particular Ministers what Points they are to Preach upon, for the Advancement of those Designs.

The General Assembly is Sovereign, and Independent: Hither lies the Last Appeal, and the Jurisdiction of it is Universal in what concerns Ecclesiastical Matters, and Persons, or Temporals in Order to Spirituals.

tuals. They look upon themselves as immediately Entrusted by *Christ*; and to Him only do they hold themselves Accountable. Whosoever does not obey this Sovereignty, (tho' the King himself) he is to be Excommunicate, and the Nobility, Gentry, Collective Body; nay, every Individual Person is to assist to the Compelling, Censuring, and Punishing of him to the Utmost of his Power. So that the King himself is at their Command, and to order the Execution of their Censures, in Estate, Body, Life, and Death.

To This *Judicatory* Two *Preaching Elders*, and a *Lay-Elder* are sent as *Commissioners* from every *Presbytery* in the Kingdome; so that the Clergy have thus far, Two to One: but then reckoning that every *Borough*, and *Corporation* sends One *Commissioner*, and the *Universities*, and *Colledges* their *Commissioners* too, which are most of them *Lay-men*, this *Assembly of the Kirk* is turn'd into a *Council of State*.

The *King* himself is also a Member of this *Assembly*, either *Personally* by Himself,

or *Virtually* by his *Commissioner*; but without a Negative Voice, or any Power there, beyond that of a *Lay-Elder*: The Major Part carries it; and whatsoever They Vote, (tho' against the Kings Opinion, and Conscience) he is bound to see it put in Execution, upon pain of being *Excommunicate*, and *Depos'd* from his *Government*. And if any thing be propos'd in this Assembly, as *Spiritual*, (tho' never so hazzardous to the Crown) if they tell you that it is for *Christs Glory*, there's no opposing of it in favour of the Publick Peace, or State. The Proper *President* is a *Preaching Elder*, and this *Judicatory* they accept as *Christs biggest Tribunal upon Earth*, from whence there lies no *Appeal*. They are oblig'd to meet once a year, and they Indict, and Adjourn themselves by their own Power, without allowing the King to appoint either the Time, or the Place, only if there be any Occasion of meeting before the time set, their Commissioners give an Account of it to the King.

The steps by which they mounted to this Arbitrary Jurisdiction were, A *Dislike*,
First,

First, Of the Church-Government. Secondly, Of the Church-Governours. Thirdly, They propos'd a Reformation after the Geneva-Copy; which not being admitted, Fourthly, They fram'd a Model of their Own. And lastly, by Fraud, Violence, and Rebellion they Impos'd it upon the Nation.

The English Presbytery.

THis was the Method also, and the Design of the English Disciplinaryans, under Queen Elizabeth, as appears by the Records of those times, tho' many particulars of the Conspiracy were never brought to Light. The Examples of Geneva, and Scotland, were at every turn press'd upon the English; and a Confederacy was carry'd on in Both Nations, for the Erecting of the same Platform of Presbyterial Discipline, which one Davison, a Scotch-man, affirms to have no less Warrant to be continu'd perpetually within the Church, under this Precept, Feed my Sheep, than bath the Preaching of the Word, or the Administration:

Abandon of the Sacraments. From 1560, to 1571, they vented their Spleen only in Libels, and Conventicles. In Novemb. 72. they Erected a Presbytery at Wandesworth in Surrey; and from that time, to 1583, their Design was agitated in secret Meetings, which they call'd Conferences, wherein, (at a London-Meeting) they came to This Conclusion, That the Present Government of the Church by Arch-Bishops, and Bishops is Anti-Christian, and that the only Discipline, and Government of Christ, that is, by Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, shall be Establish'd in Place of the Other. In 1583, Their Book of Discipline is Drawn up; (which they call'd the Synodical Discipline, and an Assembly being held upon it, among other Decrees, it was order'd, That the Comitial Assemblies are to be monish'd, to make Collections for Relief of the Poor, and of Scholars: but especially for Relief of such Ministers here; as are put out for not Subscribing to the Articles tender'd by the Bishops: also for Relief of Scottish Ministers, &c. These Scottish Ministers were they that Justify'd the Rebellious Act of making

making King *James* a Prisoner in 1583, and took Sanctuary in *England*, upon the Parliaments Declaring it *Treason*: And who so proper Instruments as They, for the Promoting of another Rebellion in *England*? Their Book of *Discipline* was review'd, and put in Practice, in 1587. In 1589 it was Perfected, and in the Year following, the Conspiracy was detected; when, upon Examinations of *Littleton*, *Edmunds*, *Johnson*, *Barbon*, *Holms*, *Brown*, &c. it appear'd, that the Discipline was Fram'd, Subscrib'd, and Carry'd on, in all Respects after the *Scottish Project*, and Model.

By Publique Justice upon some of the Principal Incendiaries, and King *James* his Vigilance, and Care afterwards, the *Cousistorians* were for a long time kept within some tolerable Compass. Their Mouths were stopt, upon the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, Anno 1603, with a strict Proclamation for the Observing of an Uniformity in the Church: Episcopacy was restor'd in *Scotland* in 1610, and an Act pass'd in a General Assembly at *Aberdeen* in 1616, Authorizing the Compiling,

ling, and Framing a Publique Form of Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer to be fitt presented to the King, and after his Approbation, to be Universally receiv'd throughout the Kingdome: Which Book, pursuant to the Act, was by the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews* sent up to his Majesty, and by himself, and his Order, Examined, Corrected, and Return'd: But his Majesty dy'd before it could be put in Practice. And this was the Book, which with very little Alteration, and That too, in favour of their pretended Scruples, was by the late King's Proclamation in 1637, commanded to be publickly Us'd in all Counties of that Kingdome. There were also diverse of the *English* Rites and Ceremonies settled in 1618, by Five Articles that pass'd the Assembly at *Pertb*; Which Articles cost King *James* an Expensive Journey into *Scotland* the Year before, where he was forc'd to tell them plainly, in a Speech at *St. Andrews*, That it was a Power belonging to all Christian Princes to order Matters in the Church; and that he would never regard what they Approv'd, or Disapprov'd,

prov'd, except they brought him a Reason which he could not Answer. To which, upon Consideration they made his Majesty this Return, That if he would grant them a Free Assembly, they would therein satisfie his Majesty in all the Points he had propounded. The King depending upon it, return'd into *England*, and the day of the Assembly being come, and nothing done according to their Promise; his Majesty went a short way to Work with them, and took away their *Augmentations*, that he had formerly allow'd them out of the Exchequer, which brought down their Stomacks, and made Way for the passing of the aforesaid Articles.

It is not my Intent to write any thing more of the History of the Times, than what I find pertinent to my present purpose: so that passing over the Grumbings, and Mutinous Dispositions that appear'd in the Remainder of King *James*, and the First Seaven or Eight Years of King *Charles* his Reign; I shall only tell you, by way of Introduction to what follows, that the late King (having before-hand order'd a Convention of the

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Estates)

Estates) upon the 13th of May, 1633.
 began his Journey towards Scotland,
 in order to his Personal Coronation,
 where he was receiv'd with a Pomp, and
 Acclamation, befitting the Dignity, and
 the Solemnity of the Occasion. His first
 Work was to ratifie the Laws, and Sta-
 tutes of his Predecessour, in Relation to
 Church-Government; which pass'd not
 without some Opposition; but the Com-
 mission of Surrenders went yet nearer
 them, tho' both the Owners of Lands,
 and the Ministers were so abundantly sa-
 tisf'd, that the Former (as the King him-
 self says in his large Declaration, pag. 9.)
 acknowledg'd it as a Deliverance from an In-
 tolerable Bondage, under which They and
 their Ancestours, ever since the Reformation
 of Religion, had grievously Groan'd; and
 the Other, with Infinite Gratitude Celebra-
 ted his Majesty, as the Father, and Founder
 of their Liberties. The Case was this,
 (as Heylin renders it in his Cyprianus
 Anglicus, pag. 224.) In the Minority of
 King James, the Lands of all Cathedral
 Churches, and Religious Houses, which
 had been settl'd on the Crown by Act of Par-
 liament,

liament, were shar'd among the Lords, and Great Men of that Kingdom; (by the Conivance of the Earl of Murray and some other of the Regents,) to make them sure unto that side: and They, being thus possess'd of the Lands, with the Regalities, and Tithes belonging to these Ecclesiastical Corporations, held the Clergy to small Stipends, and the Peasantry in Vassallage. His Majesty was advis'd by Council, to take them into his own hand, the present Occupants having no other Title to them, than the Unjust Usurpation of their Predecessors. And this was carried in such a Manner too, that the very Nobility, and Lay-Patrons could not open their Mouths against it; for they were satisfy'd for their Tithes, to the Uttermost Farthing; only they lost the Dependency of the Clergy and Laity upon them, by Virtue of these Tithes; and Consequently the Power of making a Party to Embroil the Government. They contented themselves within the Bounds of Libels, and Clamours, till that rebellious Outrage in the great Church of Edinburgh, on the 23 of July, 1637. which was no more

than the Emprovement of an Occasion to put the Principles of the *Consistory* in Execution. I'll make some amends for the length of this Digression, by Contracting my self upon the *Discipline* which was afterward Erected in *England*, after the *Scotch Pattern*.

It will be a hard matter to pass from 1637, to 1648 without taking some Notice of the Horrid Distempers in that Interval: I shall only tell you that after three or four Years spent in Dissolving the Legal Government, and Debating what we should have in the Place of it; Our comes the *Directory*, Jan. 3. 1644. with an *Ordinance* of the *Lords and Commons*, for the Authorizing of it. And afterward, Aug. 23. 1645. another *Ordinance*, for the more effectual Execution of it; which was follow'd, Jun. 5. with an *Ordinance* for the present Settling of it without farther Delay, and Aug. 19. 1646. with *Directions* for the Chusing of Ruling-Elders in all the Congregations, and in the *Classical Assemblies* for the *Cities* of *London*, and *Westminster*, and the several

ral Counties of that Kingdom, in order to the speedy settling of the Presbyterial Government. There pass'd also an Ordinance for the manner of Ordination of Ministers, with Rules for Examination, and Suspension from the Holy Supper, &c. And Another of January 29. 1647. for the speedy dividing, and settling the several Counties of this Kingdom into Distinct Classical Presbyteries, and Congregational Elderships: and they came at last, Aug. 29. 1648. to The Form of Church Government, to be us'd in the Church of England, and Ireland, agreed upon by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after Advice had with the Assembly of Divines. And all This, toward the Promoting of an Union with the Kirk of Scotland. I should have told you of the Ordinance of Jun. 12. 1643. for the calling an Assembly of Learned, and Godly Divines, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the Government of the Church: The Knights of every Shire to make Choice of Two, that should serve as Members for That County: and These, in Conjunction with so many

many of the Members of Both Houses, as might serve to inspect their Actions; took upon them the Powers, and Authority of a Convocation.

The Form of their Government was the same with That of Scotland: They had their *Congregational*, *Classical*, *Provincial*, and *National Assemblies*; with the same degrees of *Subordination*, and Vested, in Proportion, with the same Powers. They had their *Execltants* too, and the Constitution of their several *Judicatories* was the very same; only the Lords, and Commons (under the Notion of a Committee for judging of Scandal) were so wise as to reserve the *Last Appeal* to *Themselves*, which was formerly lodg'd in the *General Assembly*; by which Device, the *Schism* was made subservient to the *Rebellion*; whereas in *Scotland* it was the clear contrary. And they had also another Hank upon them, in appointing that the *National Assembly* should meet upon a Summons by *Parliament*, and then sit, and continue, as the Parliament should order, and not Otherwise: for they were not able to consent (they

(they said) in a Declaration of the House of Commons, Apr. 17. 1646.) to their Granting of an Arbitrary, and Unlimited Power, and Jurisdiction, to near ten thousand Judicatories, to be Erected in the Kingdom, which could not be consistent with the Fundamental Laws, and Government of it; and which, by necessary Consequence, did Exclude the Parliament from having any thing to do in That Jurisdiction. But the Nation is never the better yet for This Caution, so long as the Tyranny, and the Slavery is still the same.

From this View of their Brotherly Agreement in Government we shall now proceed to their Harmony in Positions; and our Brethren of Scotland shall lead the Way.

The Positions of the Kirk, under the Queen Regent, and James VI.

THE Punishment of such Crimes (says Black Knox) as touch the Majesty of God, doth not appertain to Kings, and Chief Rulers only, but to the whole Body of the People, and

and to every Member of it, as Occasion, Calling, and Ability shall serve: Nay, they are bound by Othe to God, to Revenge the Injury done to his Majesty. If Princes be Tyrants against God, and his Truth, their Subjects are discharg'd from their Othes of Obedience. The Nobility, and Commonalty ought indeed to Reform Religion; and in that Case, may remove from Honour, and Punish such as God has Condemn'd; of what Estate, Condition, or Degree soever. It is not Birth-Right only, nor Nearness of Bloud, that maketh a King Lawfully to Reign over a People professing Christ Jesus; but Princes, for Just Causes, may be Depos'd. Kings, Princes, and Governours, have their Authority of the People; and, upon Occasion, the People may take it away again. Thus far Knox; Now for Buchanan.

The People (says he) have the same Power over the King, which He has over any One Man; They are Better than the King, and of Greater Authority, and may bestow the Crown at Pleasure. The making of Laws belongs to Them: They may Arraign their Prince; The Ministers may Excommunicate

municate him ; and He that by Excommunication is cast into Hell , is not worthy to Enjoy any Life upon Earth. It were Good (says he) that Rewards were appointed by the People, for such as should Kill Tyrants ; as there are for those that Kill Wolves, or Bears, or take their Whelps.

The Seizing, and Emprisoning of King James , in Aug. 1582. being Adjudg'd Treason by the Three Estates, in Decemb. 18. 1583. and some of the Criminals Executed ; an Assembly of Ministers , and Elders at Edinburgh, in 1585. did not only Authorize, and Avow the Action, but also ordain'd all people to be Excommunicated , that would not Subscribe to their Judgment. And Andrew Melvil , being Cited to Answer for Treason deliver'd in a Sermon, declin'd the King's Authority, Affirming, that *what was spoken in the Pulpit ought first to be try'd by the Presbytery ; and that neither King, nor Council, might in the first Instance meddle therewith, although the Speech were Treasonable.*

Upon King James his Coming to the Crown of England , he order'd the Pro-

roguing of the Assembly at Aberdeen, which was to have met in 1604 to a longer day: But thirteen or fourteen of them, for all this, met formally at the day appointed: The Lords of Council discharg'd their Meeting; Whereupon they Protested, *That in Conscience, and in Duty to Almighty God they were bound to preserve the Churches Right, and neither Could, nor Would give way to that Power the King had Sacrilegiously Usurp'd over it.* Hereupon, they were Convented, and Appeal'd from the King's Council, to the next General Assembly. I had almost forgotten the Determination of Wilcock, and Knox; who Positively gave their Judgments, *That it was Lawful to Depose the Queen Regent.* Whereupon, she was solemnly Process'd, Sentenc'd, and Depriv'd.

The Positions of the Presbyterians, under Queen Elizabeth.

THe Church (sayes Cartwright) where-
in any Magistrate, King, or Empe-
rour is a Member, is Divided into some
that

that are to Govern, as Pastors, Doctors, and Elders, and into such as are to Obey, as Magistrates of all sorts, and the People. The Admonitour holds it fit, That he, and his Companions may be deliver'd by Act of Parliament, from the Authority of the Civil Magistrates; As Justices, and Others, from their Indictings, and Finings. Every Fault (says Cartwright) that tendeth either to the Hurt of a Man's Neighbour, or to the Hindrance of the Glory of God, is to be Examin'd, and Dealt in by the Order of the Holy Church. Nay, the very Suspicion of Avarice, Pride, Superfluities in Meat, or Clothing, falls under their Lash.

All men (says Goodman) are bound to see the Laws of God kept, and to Suppress, and Resist Idolatry by Force. Nor is it sufficient for Subjects not to Obey the Wicked Commands of Princes, but they must Resist them; and Deliver the Children of God out of the hands of their Enemies, as we would deliver a Sheep that is in danger to be devour'd by a Wolf. If the Magistrate shall refuse to put Mass-Mongers, and false Preachers to Death, the People (in seeing it perform'd) shew that Zeal of God which was commend-

ed in Phineas. Subjects do promise Obedience, that the Magistrate might Help them; which if he does not, they are discharged of their Obedience. If Magistrates without Fear transgress God's Laws themselves, and Command others to do the like, they are no more to be taken for Magistrates, but to be Examined, Accused, Condemned, and Punished, as Private Transgressors. Evil Princes ought by the Law of God to be Deposed, and Inferiour Magistrates ought chiefly to do it. And now hear Gilby to the same Tune.

*Kings, Princes, and Governours have their Authority of the People, and upon Occasion, the People may take it away again, as men may revoke their Proxies, and Letters of Attourney. It is Lawful (says he) to kill wicked Kings, and Tyrants; the Subjects did kill the Queen's Highness Athalia: Jchu kill'd the Queens Majesty Jeshabel: Elias, being no Magistrate, kill'd the Queen's Majesty's Chaplains, Baal's Priests: These Examples are left for our Instruction, where Justice is not Executed, the State is most Corrupt. If neither the Inferiour Magistrates, (says he) nor the greatest part of
the*

the People will do their Offices ; (in Punishing, Deposing, or Killing of Princes) then the Ministers must Excommunicate such a King. It would be Endless to follow these Instances as far as they would carry me ; so that I'll back now again into Scotland ; and you will find them much of the same Opinion under Charles I. as they had been under his Royal Father.

The Positions of the Kirk under the Late King.

IN their Protestation of September 22. 1638. against the King's Declaration, they say, First, *That what Subjects do of their own heads, is much better than what they do in Obedience to Authority, the One Savouring of Constraint, but the Other being Voluntary, and Cheerful Obedience.*

Secondly ; *That the Parliaments Power does no more reach to the Placing of Officers Originally in the Church, than the Church has Power to make States-men in the Commonwealth.*

Thirdly ; *The Parliament can make no Law*

Law at all concerning the Church, but only Ratifie what the Church Decrees : And after it has Ratify'd it, yet if the Assembly of the Church shall Prohibit it, and Repeal that Decree of the Church, all the Subjects are discharg'd from yielding Obedience to the Act of Parliament.

Fourthly ; The Assembly has Power to discharge all Subscriptions to the Confession of Faith commanded to be Subscrib'd by his Majesty ; and as it is Interpreted by Him, or his Commissioner.

Fifthly ; The Assembly, without the King, is the Church, and the only Judge Competent, fit to Interpret, and Explain all Doubts arising upon the Confession of Faith Commanded by his Majesty.

Sixthly ; Tho' the Law be Interpreted, yet if the Interpretation be dislik'd by Most of the Kingdom ; the Body of the Kingdom (for whose Good the Law was made) may crave the lawful Redress of Grievances sustained by that Law. Take Notice here, that they had already Actually transgress'd the Law (without staying for Leave) and Justifi'd the Doing of it.

Seaventhly ; The Assembly is Independent

dent either from King, or Parliament, in Matters Ecclesiastical.

Eighthly ; *That the King is to Receive all the Determinations of an Assembly, as a Son of the Church, tho' they be not matters of Faith, but only of Government ; and concluded by Acts of Parliament.*

Ninthly ; *It is Lawful for Subjects to make a Covenant, and Combination Without the King ; and to enter into a Bond of Mutual Defence Against the King ; and all Persons whatsoever (tho' against several Acts of Parliament.)*

Tenthly ; *It is Lawful for themselves, (sitting in an Assembly) to Indict a New Assembly, without the King's Consent.*

Eleventhly ; *If Subjects be convented before the King, and Council for any Misdemeanour ; they may Appeal from the King, and Council to the next General Assembly, and Parliament, if they think either the Glory of God, or the Good of the Church concern'd in the Matter in Question.*

Twelfthly ; *They do not desire the King to Indict a General Assembly, as needing his Authority, but rather for his Honour, and for the Countenance of their Proceedings :*

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Alledging, that if the Prince shall omit to do his Duty, the People, from whom he had his Power Originally, may Resume it.

Thirteenthly ; If the King's Voice shall be deny'd to any thing, tho' never so Unjust, and Illegal, that shall be carry'd by the Major part of the Assembly, his Majesty is bound Jure Divino to enforce Obedience to to those Acts, and the Counsellors, or Judges refusing to Execute, shall be Excommunicate, and depriv'd of their Places, and Estates.

Fourteenthly ; An Assembly may Abrogate Acts of Parliament, and discharge the Subject from Obeying them, if they any way reflect upon the Business of the Church.

Fifteenthly ; The Protestation of the Subjects against Laws Establish'd, either before the Judges of the People, or the People themselves who are born to be Judg'd, doth void all Obedience to those Laws, without ever bringing of them to be discuss'd before a Competent Judge.

*Sixteenthly ; The Major part of the People may do any thing (they say) which they Themselves conceive Conducing to the
Glory*

Glory of God, and the Good of the Church, any Laws to the Contrary notwithstanding.

These *Positions* you will find in his Majesties *Large Declaration concerning the Tumults in Scotland*, pag. 407. *et Deinceps*. We shall now see how the *Counterpart* of this *Confederacy* behav'd it self in *England*: And shew you the *Doctrine*, and *Principles* of the *Faction*, in the very *Infancy* of the *Rebellion*: as appears out of their own *Acts*. See *Husband's Exact Collections*, Printed in *London*, 1643.

The Positions of the English-Covenanters: and First, In Case of the King's Authority.

A fter that the *Faction* had *Extorted* from his *Late Majesty* such *Concessions* as never any *Prince* granted before *Himself*; And when they had *Defam'd* his *Government*, and his *Person*; and *Poyson'd* his *People*, with *Contemp- tuous*, and *Scandalous Libels*; Upon *March 2. 1641*. They began to *Unmask*,
E and

and to discover to the World, that their Design was not to Reform, but to Govern; and upon Pretence of Fearing an Invasion from Abroad, took the Power of the Militia into their Own Hands at Home; Resolving upon the Question, p. 96. *That the Kingdom be forthwith put into a Posture of Defence, by the Authority of Both Houses.* This Vote was seconded by Another, of March 15. pag. 112. *That in Case of Extreme Danger, and of his Majesties Refusal (to give them the Power of the Militia) the Ordinance agreed on by Both Houses for the Militia, doth Oblige the People, and ought to be Obey'd by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.* His Majesty insisting upon the Illegality of This Proceeding, Both Houses pass'd this following Vote, March 16. *That when the Lords, and Commons in Parliament, (which is the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom) shall Declare what the Law of the Land is; to have This, not only Question'd, and Controverted, but Contradicted; and a Command that it should not be Obey'd, is a High Breach of the Privilege of Parliament,* pag. 114. Finding themselves

selves Pinch'd upon this Point, they fly to
 a *Distinction* betwixt the *Letter*, and the
Equity, of all *Laws*, pag. 150. There is
 (say they) in *Laws*, an *Equitable*, and a
Literal Sense: His Majesty is *Entrusted* by
Law, with the *Militia*, but 'tis for the *Good*,
 and *Preservation* of the *Republicque* against
Foreign Invasions, or *Domestique Rebelli-*
ons; not that the *Parliament* would by *Law*
Entrust the King with the *Militia*, against
Themselves, or the *Common-wealth*; that
Entrusts Them to provide for their *Weal*,
 not for their *Woe*. So that upon *Certain*
Appearance, or *Grounded Suspicion*, that
 the *Letter* of the *Law* shall be improv'd a-
 gainst the *Equity* of it, the *Commander*
 going against its *Equity*, discharges the
Commanded from *Obedience* to the *Let-*
ter.

The Pretence of *Defending* the *Govern-*
ment is now *Advanc'd* to the *Reforming*
 of it. Apr. 9. 1642. The *Lords* and *Com-*
mons do *Declare*, That they intend a *Due*,
 and *Necessary Reformation* of the *Govern-*
ment, and *Liturgie* of the *Church*, pag.
 135.

Having valready by *Violence* En-
 croach'd

croach'd upon the *Militia*, as against a *Foreign Power*, the First Considerable Use that they make of it, is to Employ it against his Majesties Authority, and Person Before *Hull*; and Pass'd Two Votes, Apr. 28. in Justification of the Action. Resolved, &c. That his Majesties declaring of Sir John Hotham Traytour, being a Member of the House of Commons, is a High Breach of the Privilege of Parliament. And That, without Process of Law, it is against the Liberty of the Subject, and against the Law of the Land. Nay they Vote it May 17. To be against the Law of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, his Majesties Commanding of Skippon to attend him at York, and The very Removing of the Term to York from Westminster (sitting the Parliament) they Vote to be Illegal, and Order the Lord Keeper (notwithstanding his Majesties Command) not to Issue out any Writs, or Seal any Proclamation for that Adjournment. May 20. They Order also the Putting of all the Magazines in England, and Wales, into the Hands of Persons well Affected to the Parliament. pag. 194.

They find themselves now in Condition

tion to Threaten the King, and the Kingdom with Open War: And pass upon the Question, these *Three* following Votes. First; *That it appears, That the King (Seduc'd by Wicked Counsel) intends to make War against the Parliament, who, (in all their Consultations, and Actions) have propos'd no other End unto themselves, but the Care of his Kingdoms, and the Performance of all Duty, and Loyalty to his Person.* Secondly; *That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in Him by his People, Contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of his Government.* Thirdly; *That whosoever shall Serve, or Assist him in such Wars, are Traytors, by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, &c.* And Pursuant to these Votes, July 12. they Resolve, *That an Army shall be forthwith Rais'd for the Safety of the King's Person; Defence of Both Houses of Parliament, and of Those who have Obey'd their Orders, and Commands; and preserving of the True Religion, the Laws, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom.* pag. 457. All these Votes, and Declarations, they cause, with
all.

all Solemnity to be Printed, and Publish'd: but at the same time, *his Majesties Proclamations, and Declarations* are said to be *Contrary to Law.* pag. 449. And all Officers are forbidden any way to Publish, or to Proclaim the same. The King's Commissions of Array are Declar'd, July 20. to be against Law, the Liberty, and Property of the Subject. And the Actors in it to be Esteem'd Disturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom. pag. 478. And again, pag. 576. All such Persons as shall, upon any Pretence whatsoever, Assist his Majesty in this War, with Horse, Arms, Plate, or Monies, are declar'd Traytors to his Majesty, the Parliament, and the Kingdom; and to be brought to condign Punishment.

The Poyson of their Artificial Delusions you will find Maliciously enough Defus'd in their Remonstrance of May the 26. 1642. pag. 263. And the Doctrine of That Declaration summ'd up with great Exactness, in his Majesties Answer to it, contracting the Venome of it into These Six Positions.

First; *That they have an Absolute Power of Declaring the Law; And that whatsoever*

ever they declare to be so, ought not to be question'd, either by King, or People: so that all the Right, and Safety of the Prince, and Subject, depends upon their Pleasure.

Secondly; That no Presidents can be Limits to Bound their Proceedings; which, If so, The Government of the Turk Himself is not so Arbitrary.

Thirdly; That a Parliament may dispose of any thing, wherein the King, or Subject hath a Right, for the Publique Good; (speaking all this While of the Remnant of the Two Houses) That they, without the King, are This Parliament, and Judge of This Publique Good; and that the King's Consent is not Necessary. So that the Life, and Liberty of the Subject, and all the Good Laws made for their Security, may be dispos'd of, and Repeal'd by the Major Part of Both Houses, at any time present, and by any Wayes, and Means Procured so to be, and his Majesty has no Power to Protect them.

Fourthly; That a Member of either House ought not to be troubled, or meddled with, for Treason, Felony, or any Other Crime,

Crime, without the Cause first brought before Them, that they may judge of the Fact, and their Leave obtained to Proceed.

Fifthly ; That the Sovereign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament. The King has no Negative Voice ; and becomes Subject to their Commands.

Lastly ; That the Levying of Forces against the Personal Commands of the King, (tho' accompany'd with his Presence) is not Levying War against the King : But to Levy War against his Laws, and Authority, (which they have Power to Declare, and Signifie) is Levying War against the King ; And that Treason cannot be Committed against his Person, otherwise than as he is Entrusted with the Kingdom, and Discharging that Trust ; and that they have a Power to judge, whether he discharges it or no. And to justify their Usurpations, they do maintain, pag. 270. That the Kings of This Realm are Oblig'd to pass all such Bills as are Offer'd unto them by Both Houses of Parliament.

It would be superfluous to tell you of their Proclaiming Fasts, and Assuming to themselves other Rights of Sovereignty ;
under

under the specious Pretence of a *Parliament*. But to shew you that it was All an Imposture : If the *King* will not Agree, the *Two Houses* (they say) may Act without him : If the *Two Houses* Differ, the Sovereignty rests in the *House of Commons*. As in the Case of a Bill they sent up to the Lords for Directing a *Protestation* which they had Fram'd, to be generally taken throughout *England*. This Bill the Lords Rejected ; Whereupon, the Commons pass'd this *Vote*, *That That House did conceive that the Protestation made by them is fit to be taken by every Person that is well Affected in Religion, and to the Good of the Common-Wealth ; and therefore doth declare, That what Person soever shall not take the Protestation, is Unfit to bear Office in the Church, or Common-Wealth.* And so they order'd the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses to send down to the severall Places for which they send'd, Copies of that *Vote* of the House concerning the *Protestation*, and that the *Vote* should be Printed. They began with a Contempt of the Lords, they Lay'd them quite Aside at last ; and in the Conclusion,

F

sion, they *Themselves* were, upon their Own Arguments, Confounded by the *Rabble*. You see the Dominion these People Challenge over their Master; and it cannot be expected that they should give any better Quarter to their Fellow Subjects; But it is *Their Way* of making *Kings Glorious*, and Patronizing the Liberty of the People.

The Positions of the English-Covenanters, as to the Liberty, and Propriety of the Subject.

IN May, 1641. they enter'd upon their Design with the Protestation above-mention'd, in these Words: I A. B. do in the Presence of Almighty God, Promise, Vow, and Protest to Maintain, and Defend, as far as Lawfully I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate the true Reformed Protestant Religion, express'd in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery, and Popish Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the same Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my Allegiance to his Majesties Royal Person,

Person, Honour, and Estate; as also the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the Lawful Rights, and Liberties of the Subjects, &c. Here was First, an Usurpation in the Imposing of it; and Secondly, an Abominable Fraud in the Construction of it. The Matter of it was so Plausible, that it went down without much Enquiring into the Authority of it; but upon the Commons declaring, that the Doctrine of the Church of England had no Regard to the Maintaining of the Discipline and Government of it: And Afterward, that the Sovereignty was Virtually in the Two Houses, and that by This Protestation, they were Oblig'd to serve *That Interest*, Mens Eyes came then to be Open'd, and they saw their Errour: For they were call'd upon according to their Solemn Vow, and Protestation, to Subscribe for Money, and Plate, pag. 340. and to Maintain Horse, Horse-men, and Arms, for the Defence of the King, and Both Houses of Parliament. In York-shire there was a Neutrality Propounded by some Persons of Eminent Condition in the County, but the Lords, and Com-

mons Declar'd against it, pag. 629. as a Contradiction to the Tye of their General Protestation. And it went so high, that they past a Vote, Oct. 15. 42. *That such Persons as shall not Contribute to the Charge of the Common-wealth in this Time of Imminent Necessity, shall be held fit to be Disarm'd.* And the same day, they Voted the Sequestering of Church-Lands, Delinquents Estates, and Revenues of the Crown. They Order'd Victuals, and other Necessaries for the Army to be taken up upon Publique Faith, Nov. 29. 42. pag. 763. and where any thing was Refused, to Forbear: And likewise they appointed a Committee of Six Citizens of London, or any Four of them for the Assessing all such (to the twentieth Part of their Estates) as had not contributed upon the Propositions of raising Money, Plate, Horse, &c. in Proportion to their Abilities. The said Assessment to be Levy'd by Distress, and Sale; and in Case of Refusal, the Parties to be Emprison'd. pag. 767. With further Authority, Feb. 3. 42. p. 777. to Break open any Chests, Trunks, Boxes, Doors, with Power to Seize such Chests, with Money, or Goods, for the

the Satisfaction of the Sums Assess'd. And the same Power, Amplifi'd, they granted to Commissioners for Levying of Money by a Weekly Assessment, upon London, and Westminster; and every County, and City in England and Wales; the City of London being Rated the Weekly Sum of 10000 l. and Others in Proportion.

You have here from their own *Public Acts*, (for I cite none of their Pamphlets) a Breviate of the Powers they assumed to themselves over King, and People: And this so Early in the War too, that the Faction was not as yet sure in the Saddle. (For This was all before 1643.) You shall now see the *Execution of these Arbitrary Principles by the Covenanters of Both Kingdoms in their Turns*, and you shall Confess that tho' the Rigours of the *Kirk* may serve as a Foil to any *Other Tyranny*, the *English* have yet had the Honour to out-strip their Masters.

According to the Common Method of *Innovators*, their First Work was, by *Press and Pulpit*, to Defame the Government; their Next, was, by Popular Artifice,

fice, to stir up the Multitude by *Tumults* to *Reform* it; and Lastly; (if they found their Party strong enough to Depend upon) to Enter into a *Confederacy*, and Set up for themselves. This was the Course that *Knox, Willock*, and their Followers took in *Scotland* under the *Queen Regent* in 1555. and afterward, under King *James VI.* And *Cartwright* with his Complices went the same way to Work also under *Queen Elizabeth*; only the Conspiracy of *Arbington, Hacket, Coppinger, Wigginton, &c.* was Discover'd, and the Plot Disappointed. But the Libels, and Tumults in *Scotland*, 1637. which led to that Impious *Bond, and Covenant* in 1638. had better success. (See his Late Majesties *Large Declaration* upon That Subject.) And after their Pattern, so had the Practices in *England* in 1641. when the Parliament was so Over-aw'd by *Tumults* that the Vote of the *Two Houses* was no other in Effect than the Sense of the *Rabble* in the *Lobby*. It was but their Bawling for Justice upon the Noble *Earl of Strafford*, their Crying down of *Bishops*, and *Papish Lords*, and the thing is Done. The Riots were

were so Great, that the Lords press'd the Commons at a Conference, to Joyn with them in a Declaration for the Suppressing of them. But it was Answer'd, saying, *We must not Discourage our Friends, This being a time we must make use of All our Friends.* God forbid (says Mr. Pim) that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to Dishearten People to obtain their just Desires in such a way; Exact Collections, pag. 532. The Kirk would have said, that they did not know with what Spirit they were Over-Rul'd, as they told King James in the Case of Gibson, and Black, for delivering Treason in the Pulpit. The next thing that follow'd in Course, was a Combination; and That shall be the first Point we'll handle in the Common Practices of the Party; which in One Word amounts to no less than the Dissolution of a Legal, and the Setting up of a Tyrannical Government.

The

*The Practices, and Usurpations
of the Presbyterians upon the
Civil Government.*

TO be as Clear now in their *Practices*,
as I have been in their *Positions*,
you shall have as good Evidence for their
Proceedings, as you have had already
for their *Principles*. And I'll begin with
the Foundation of their Empire; their
Audacious, and Mysterious *Covenant*:
Not with the *Matter*, or the *Design* of it,
but only to shew you that *Covenanting* is
the *Method* of the Party.

*Covenant-
ing is the
Method of
the Party.*

The *First Covenant* of Scotland bears
Date Decemb. 3. 1557. at Edinburgh: The
Second at Perth, May 31. 1559. The
Third at Sterling, Aug. 1. And a *Fourth*,
at Leith, Apr. 27. 1560. They Enter'd
also into Another *Covenant* at Ayr, Sept. 4.
1562. which Knox calls a *New Covenant*.

In England 1583. they Subscrib'd their
Discipline, and Enter'd into a *League*
both by Promise, and Writing, to do
their

their Parts toward the Establishing of it.

In *Scotland* 1638. so soon as ever they had settled their *Tables of Advice*, the *First Act of those Tables was their Solemn Covenant*.

And so likewise in *England*, the Commons Impos'd a *Protestation*, and then went on to *Covenants*, and *Oibes* without End.

Here's an *Usurpation upon Sovereignty*, *All Leagues without Authority are Seditious.* the very first step they set ; in the *Exacting of an Oib without due Authority* ; beside, that *all Leagues of Subjects among themselves are (in the Eye of the Law) no better than Seditious Conspiracies*. Wee'l come now to the *Pretence of these Covenants*, which is only an *Artifice of Inveigling the Silly People into a Confederacy against the Government*, under the *Notion of Promoting the Common Good*.

The End of the *First Scottisb Covenant* *The Pretended End of the Covenant.* above-mention'd (at *Edinburgh*) is said to be the *Defence of Christs Gospel*, and *his Congregation*, and of every Member of it against all Opposers, to the Death. The *Second at Perth* goes further, and Extends

to all Persons that shall trouble them upon what Pretence soever. In the *Third*, at *Sterling* they bind themselves from any Correspondence with the *Queen*, either by Word, or Writing. In their *Fourth* at *Leith* they Covenant a Direct Revolt, and the reducing of all men by Force, that are not of their Opinion. In their *Last Bond*, at *Ayr*, they declare against all men as Enemies that shall not submit to their Government. And upon the Whole Matter, they Found all their subsequent Proceedings upon the Obligation of the *First Covenant* for the Defence of *Christ's Gospel*.

The Pretext of the *Scottish Covenant* in 1638. was the Defence of the King's Majesty, his Person, and Authority in the Defence, and Preservation of the True Religion, Liberties, and Laws of the Kingdom: As also the Mutual Defence, one of another, against all sorts of Persons whatsoever.

And the *English Protestation* of 1641. looks the very same way, viz. for the Maintenance of the Doctrine of the Church of England; the Power, and Privileges
of

of the Parliament, and Liberty of the Subject. And what's the very Title of their Solemn League, and Covenant, in 1643. but Reformation, and Defence of Religion; the Honour, and Happiness of the King; the Peace, and Safety of the Three Kingdoms?

So soon as ever they had by these specious Appearances decoy'd an Inconsiderate Part of the Nation into the Net, they Improv'd the Fraud by Expounding upon all their Bonds and Covenants, quite Contrary to the Common Intent, and Acceptation of the same. And made way thereby to the Destruction of all those Interests which the People thought they had Sworn to Preserve. But the Subject was so hamper'd betwixt the Dread of the *Orbe*, among those that did not understand the Nullity of the Obligation; and the Forfeiture of Life, Fortune, and Estate, if they should not pursue it according to the Oraculous sence of them that Impos'd it, that betwixt their Consciences, their Safeties, and Estates, they were in a great streight. He that Considers the Solemn, and the Awful Cir-

cumstances that accompani'd the taking of these Engagements; the *lifting up of the Eyes, and Hands*; the Attesting of *Almighty God*; the Invocations of *the Great Name of the Lord*, and their Appeals to *the Searcher of all Hearts*; and Compares their *Actings* with their *Protestations*, will find them perhaps the most Impious, and Extravagant Contradiction in Nature. And That's the thing next to be Observ'd in a View of the *Fabrique* they Rais'd upon this Goodly Foundation.

After this Hypocrisie in the very *Frame* of their Project, there was but little of Good Faith to be expected in the *Menance* of it: And all their *Covenants*, under Colour of *Reforming* the Government, were both in Construction, and in Effect, but so many Othes for the *Abjuring* of it; and the setting up of a more *Blasphemous Oracle* in the Name of *Christ Jesus*, than ever was silenc'd at his taking Flesh upon him by his *Holy Power*. I call their *Covenants, Oracles*; as well in respect of the *Inspiration*, as of the *Imposture*.

posture. But we shall better understand them, by Tracing their Motions from One Usurpation to Another.

By Letters from *Sterling* of *March 10.* The steps by which the Holy Discipline Advanc'd into a Direct Rebell-ion. *1556.* *Knox* was invited from *Geneva*, with This Assurance, That *the Faithful in Scotland* were ready to jeopard their *Lives, and Goods* for the setting forward of *the Glory of God*, as he would permit. These Letters came to his Hand in *May*. And in *September* following (with the Privy, and Encouragement of *Calvin*) he left *Geneva*, and *Octob. 24.* arriv'd at *Diepe*, (with Intent to Embarque for *Scotland*) where he met with other Letters, dissuading his Return. (See his *History of Scotland*, *Fol. 107.*) The Faction was now ready to give up the Cause, and had undoubtedly so done, but for *Knox* his Letter to some of the Nobility upon That Occasion; which re-Confirm'd them in their Resolutions. *Your Brethren* (says he) *are Oppress'd* (*Fol. 109.*) and you ought to Hazzard your own *Lives*, (be it against *Kings, or Emperours*) for their Deliverance. (So that here was Violence Intended,

tended, you see, in the very first Proposition.) By the Instigation of this Letter, they enter'd into their *first Covenant* at *Edinburgh* in *Decemb. 1557.* (Fol. 110.) and Immediately after the Subscribing of it, they Order'd the *Common Prayer* (of *England*) to be read weekly on *Sunday*, and other *Festival Days*, in all the *Parish-Churches* of *That Kingdom*, with the *Lessons* of the *Old and New Testament*, Conformed to the *Book of Common Prayers.* (Fol. 111.) Soon after This, they Petition'd the *Queen and Council* for the Use of the *Common Prayer* in the *Vulgar Tongue*, which was granted them, with an *Exception* only to *Edinburgh*, and *Leith*, for fear of *Tumults*: And upon the Neck of this *Petition*, follows a *Protestation*, deliver'd in *Parliament*, 1558. against all *Acts of Parliament* for the *Punishing of Heretiques*; the *Removal of all Prelates*, and their *Officers* from any *Place of Judgment*: (Fol. 133.) Foretelling, by way of *Menace*, that if *Abuses* should chance to be *Violently Reform'd*, the *Government* may thank it self. From *Protesting* they Gather'd themselves Together ,
at

at *St. Johnston*, the Town Declaring for them. Hereupon, the Preachers were Summon'd to appear at *Sterling*, May 10. 1559. And on the Other Side, *The Brethren Concluded that the Gentlemen of Every Country should Accompany their Preachers, to the Day, and Place appointed: that is; to St. Johnston; where they had their First Assembly.* Upon this Contempt, the Ministers were Proclaim'd Traytours, and the Multitude fell to the Demolishing, and Rifting of *Religious Houses*; where they found great Booty; and so they Proceeded to the fortifying of themselves, and calling in of their Friends to their Assistance, Maintaining their Ground by Force, notwithstanding *A Proclamation for all of them to avoid the Town, under the Pain of Treason:* (Which Place soon after was Deliver'd up upon Composition.) From the Pretence of Defending themselves in *St. Johnston*, they Advanc'd, shortly after, to the Assaulting of it; and so the Burning of *Scone*; the Seizing of the *Minting-Irons* for the Coyning of their Plate. And then from *Monasteries*, and *Abbies*, they went forward to the Defacing,

facing, and Pillaging of *Cathedrals*; *Parochial Churches*; and there were few *Chancels* that escap'd them. In their Answer to the *Queens Proclamation* of Aug. 28. 1559. they Rise from matter of *Religion*, to matter of *State*. (*Knox Hist. of Scotland*, Fol. 174. And in Direct Terms, Fol. 179. *They Affirm, that it appertaineth to the Nobility, and also to the Barons, and People, to bridle the Rage; and Fury of misled Princes;* which was only a *Prologue* to the Formal, and Solemn *Deposal* of the *Queen Regent* at *Edinburgh*, Octob. 24. 1559. that ensu'd. After This; they emplor'd Aid from *England*, under Colour of Maintaining their *Ancient Liberties*. And the Treaty was sign'd at *Berwick* by the Commissioners of Both Nations, Feb. 27. 1559.

They persecuted the Queen Regent into her Grave.

By these Persecutions they brought the *Queen Regent* to her Grave; And upon her Death, a Peace was Concluded; the Armies to Disband, and the *French*, and *English* Succours to return Home. In Decemb. 1560. *Francis the Second* of *France* departed this Life; leaving the *Queen* of *Scots* an Unfortunate Widdow; Poor, and

and Helpless. They were now out of Fear of France, and there was no Danger from England, in regard of the Queen of Scots Pretensions to That Crown; so that they resolv'd now to play their Own Game; And their First Act was the Abolishing of the *Common-Prayer* (in a Convention at *Edinburgb*) which they had formerly Embrac'd, and Confirm'd by a Solemn Decree, and Subscription. And the Presenting of a *Church-Government* of *Knox's* own Contrivance, and not much differing from the *Geneva-Model*, to a Convention of the Estates; under the Title of *The Confession of the Faith* and Doctrine; believed, and Professed by the Protestants of Scotland. The States took Time to consider of the Form of Religion; but pass'd an Act, however for the Demolishing of Cloysters, and Abby Churches. Whereupon (says *Spotswood* in his *Church-History* Fol. 175.) there ensued a Pitiful Vastation of Churches, and Church Buildings. No Difference was made, but all the Churches either Desac'd, or Pull'd to the Ground. The Holy Vessels, and whatsoever else Men could make Gain of, (as Timber,

Lead, and Bells) were put to Sale. The very Sepulchers of the Dead were not spar'd. The Registers of the Church, and Libraries cast into the Fire: And All This, colour'd with the Warrant of Publique Authority. Take Notice here, that after the Convention was Dissolv'd, their Book of Polity was Subscrib'd, notwithstanding the Postponing of the Question. And we shall see now, that they treated the Queen her Self no better than they had done the Queen Regent.

The Daugh-
ter had no
better
Quarter
than the
Mother.

Upon this Nice Juncture of Affairs, the Queen was Invited Home. And Aug. 20. 1561. She arrived at Leith; declaring upon her Entrance, That there should no Alteration be made in the Present State of Religion, only for her Self, and Family she would have a Mass in Private. But the Preachers decrying that Toleration in their Pulpits, produced a Dangerous Tumult against the Freedom of her own Chappel.

After several Riots, and Open Rebel-
lions, which were still promoted, and
seconded by the Presbytery; In July 1564
the

the Queen was Marri'd to the Lord Darn-ly; And June 19. 1566. brought to bed of a Son (afterward James VI.) in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. In 1567. they sent the Queen Prisoner to *Lochevin*, and pass'd an Act of Assembly for the Securing, and Disposing of the Person of the Infant-Prince; with Direction to move the Queen to a *Resignation* of her Government, and the Appointing of a *Regent*, during his *Minority*; which by Force, and Menaces, her Majesty was compell'd to do; and her *Renunciation*, and *Commission* Publish'd at the *Market-Cross* at *Edinburgh*, the Prince being Crown'd, and Anointed King, in the Church of *Striveling* the Third day after the Publication, being July 29. On the 20th of *August*, the Earl of *Murray* was Elected *Regent*: King *James* being as yet but Thirteen Months old. At the Beginning of the Spring, in 1568. the Queen made her Escape, and was convey'd to *Hamilton*, where several Lords meeting in Council, her *Resignation* was declar'd *Void*, (as Extorted by Fear) and *Proclamation* issu'd against the Rebels that had Usurped her Authority.

The Dispute, in short, was brought to a Battle; May 13. the Queens Army Defeated, (and she her self fled into *England* for Protection; where the Faction never left the Pursute of her, till they brought her to the Scaffold. But here you'll say there was a *Foreign Interest*, and *Popery* in the Case. If That were All, how came it that they handled the Young King at as Course a rate every jot as they had treated his Mother? tho' their *Natural Prince*, and afterward, the Celebrated *Champion* of the *Protestant Cause*.

*They treat-
ed King
James as
ill as they
had done
his Mother.*

The Government of *Scotland* had been Administer'd by Four Regents, when, upon the Earl of *Morton's* desire to be Discharg'd of his *Regency*, the King (not twelve years old as yet) accepted of it, and his Acceptation thereof was Proclaim'd at *Edinburgh*, *March 12. 1577.* where the Regent himself was Assisting. As an Earnest of the Respect they bare to his Majesties Authority, *Andrew Melvil* presented a Form of *Church Government* to the Parliament at *Striveling*, in 1578. which they referr'd to certain Commissioners,

missioners, who agreed to such General Heads as did not touch the Authority of the King, nor prejudg the Liberty of the State. But this did not content Them; so that they resolv'd to put their Conclusions in Practice the next Assembly, without staying for a Ratification (*Spotswood's Hist. Fol. 302.*) In Glasgow, the next Spring, the Ministers put the Magistrates of the City upon Demolishing the Cathedral, but the Tradesmen Interpos'd, and Defended it. In 1582: *Montgomery* was Process'd for Preaching at Glasgow: The King by his Warrant commanded the Assembly to desist, which the Moderatour peremptorily refus'd, and thereupon, the Officer pull'd him from his Seat, and Clap'd him up in the *Tolbuith*; for which, they Decreed him to be *Excommunicate*, tho' the King himself earnestly perswaded them to the Contrary.

After this Contempt of the Kings Authority, they made a Violent Seizure of his Person, and carri'd him Prisoner to the Castle of *Ruthen*, where they kept him Close Nine Months; forcing him by a Writing under his hand, to command the

the Duke of *Lenox* to Depart the Kingdom, and Imposing upon him what Servants they pleas'd, under pretence of *Z:al* to Religion, and Care of his Person. They did also Petition the next General Assembly at *Edinburgb*, to give their sence of the Action: Who made themselves Judges; and did so highly approve of it, that they appointed all Ministers to recommend the Actors of it, as good Christians, and Patriots, pretending, that there was no other way to preserve their Religion, and Freedoms. And yet this Duke dy'd soon after, in *France*, of the Reformed Communion. For the Countenance of this Proceeding, they force the King (being but Seventeen years of Age) to emit a Proclamation, commanding all those that had Levy'd any Forces upon Pretence of his Restraint, to Disband within Six hours, upon Pain of Death; and Declaring that he was at Liberty, and had only his Friends about him. In the Summer following, under Colour of Viewing the Castle of *St. Andrews*, It was contriv'd, that the Gates should be shut upon his Followers, and so he deliver'd himself from his Guard.

It

It would be but the same thing over again, to Enumerate the Repeated Usurpations of their Government, and the Contumacy of their Ministers: their Rebellious Practises at *Striveling, Glasgow, &c.* and that Horrid Outrage against the *Ostians* in *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 17. 1596. When the King appoints a *Feast*, they Indict a *Fast*; the Council Orders the Ministers of *Edinburgh* to give *Thanks* for his Majesties Deliverance from *Gowry's Conspiracy*: Their Answer was, That *they were not acquainted with the Business.* And when it was urg'd, that they were only to affect the People with the Sence of his Majesties having escap'd a great Danger, they Reply'd, That *nothing should be utter'd in the Pulpit, but That whereof the Truth was known.* Nay, they would not so much as pray for the Kings Mother, when her Death was Resolv'd upon, tho' the very Form was prescrib'd in the most Innocent Terms Imaginable. viz. *That it might please God to illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and save her from the apparent Danger wherein she was cast.*

And

*The Con-
spiracy un-
der Queen
Elizabeth
was nipp'd
in the Bud.*

And This would have been the Issue too of the *English Project* under Queen *Elizabeth*; as appears by the Insolence of their Demands, and the Virulence of their Writings, if the Conspiracy had not been nipp'd in the Bud.

*The Scotch
Rebellion
of 1637.*

The *Scottish Insurrection* in 1637. was only their Old Method Reviv'd. Of which, in a few Words, Out of the *Kings Declaration* upon That Subject.

*The Rise,
Method,
and Pro-
gress of it.*

Upon occasion of a Seditious Uproar at *Edinburgh*, Octob. 18. 1637. his Late Majesty order'd the Discharge of all such Meetings, upon Pain of Death. And his *Proclamation*, being Publish'd at *Sterling*, *Lithgow*, and *Edinburgh*, was encounter'd with a *Protestation* against it; at the same Times, and Places; and with the same Solemnity, as if they had been Both by the same Authority. Immediately upon this Affront, the *Protestors* erect *Publique Tables of Council* for Ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom without the Consent of the King, and in Contempt of his Majesty and Council. At

These

These *Tables*, having First agreed upon their *Covenant*, they conclude upon Certain Propositions of *Instruction* to the Party. *No Answer must be made to State-Questions without Advice.* All Proclamations to be Protested against; and to take nothing for Satisfaction, Less than their Whole Demand. This way of *Anti-Protesting* they made use of from first to last. Upon his Majesties *Proclamation* for Dissolving the Assembly at *Glasgow* 1638. they did not only Protest, and Refuse to Depart, but Cited the Kings Council that Sign'd the *Proclamation*, to appear before the King, and Parliament. In This their Protestation, his Majesty observes Eleaven Nullities; and that In One Hour they made Void Six General Assemblies; tho' Two of them Wholly, and the Other Four, in Part, were Ratifi'd by Acts of Parliament. In Another Hour, they Damn'd all the Arminian Tenets, without Defining what they were. In Another Hour they Depriv'd One Arch-Bishop, and Two Bishops. And in One hour more, they Abolish'd Episcopacy; Depositing Four Bishops, barely upon a Libel read in the Pulpit, without Examining any

I

One

One Witness against them ; and only for the Crime of Obeying Parliaments, and General Assemblies.

They Levy Arms against the King for the Glory of God.

All This they do, as having the Cognition of *Ecclesiastical Matters*. They *Arm the Subject ; Block up , and Force the Kings Forts , and Castles ; Intercept Victuals, and Ammunition for their Relief ; Tax the People ; Levy Soldiers against the King ; Issue out Warrants to Sheriffs for Commissioners of Parliament ; and when they are Ask'd why they do these things ; 'Tis for the Good of the Church, (they say) the Glory of God ; and the Preservation of Religion.* (Kings Declaration, pag. 415.) These are the men that *bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Links of Iron*, according to the very Letter. And you shall now see that the *English Covenanters* are as good *Text-Proof* as their *Brethren*. Take Notice here , That my Observations are restrain'd simply to the Actings of the *Presbyterians* ; without Imputing any thing to Them that was done by the Influence of the *Independents*.

The Practices of the Scotch, and English compar'd.

It appears from what is already said, that

that *The Name of God* was the Prologue to *Both* *Rebellions*: The *Form*, and *Do-
ctrine* of the *English League*, the very *Translation* of the *Scottish*: It rests now to shew, that the *English Practices* are so likewise; and how far they have put their *Seditious Positions* in *Execution*. What was the *English way* of *Remonstrating*, and *Declaring*, but the *Scottish Mode* of *Protesting*? The *General Assembly* declines the *Kings Authority* in the *Case of Treason*; and so did the *House of Commons*, in the *Case of their Members*. The *Kirk* refus'd to pray for the *Queen*; and our *Mock-Parliament* made it *Penal* to Pray for the *King*; And they both of them took upon themselves to *Convene Assemblies*; *Impose Orbes*, and *Subscriptions* by their own *Power*: To *Banish the Kings Servants*, and *Scandalize his Ministers*: And with a *Scottish Grace* the *English Faction* tells the *King*, in Answer to one of his *Declarations*, That *his Suggestion is as False as the Father of Lies can Invent*. As they agreed in the *Intent* of the *Reformation*, So did they also in the *Manner* of it. They *Alarm'd the City of London* at *Mid-*

night, that the King was coming with his Papists to fire the Town, and burn the Citizens in their Beds; (the Common Pretences of Scotland). And after the Scottish Methode too, they Rifled Winchester-Church in 1642. | Burnt the Communion-Table in an Ale-House; brake open several Leaden Chests, wherein the Bodies of some of the Saxon Kings were Deposited; Casting the Dust into the Air; and throwing the Bones of them at the Windows. : Hacking with their Swords the Crown that was there upon the very Statue of the King. With the same Barbarity they proceeded at Chichester, where they Picked out the Eyes of Edw. VI. his Picture; saying, that all this was long of his Book of Common Prayer. At Canterbury, and Rochester they did the Like, and turn'd the Church of St. Paul, both into a Stable, and an Ale-House. It might serve, in one word for all, to say, That they have put all their Positions before spoken of in Practice.

The Usurpations of the Two Houses.

The Two Houses, by their own Authority, set up Ordinances for Laws; settl'd the Militia; stil'd themselves the Supreme Judicature of the Kingdome; Chang'd the

the Whole Frame of the Government ; Punish'd those as *Traytours* that serv'd the King ; Seiz'd the Kings *Fort's, Town's, Magazines*, and *Revenues* ; Rais'd an Army against him ; Impos'd *Taxes, Excise, Customs* ; took away *Episcopacy*, and the *Common-Prayer*, and settled the *Directory* ; Proclaim'd *Fasts* ; spoil'd the King of his *Authority* ; made him a *Prisoner*, under Colour of taking him into *Protection* ; and then for a Sum of Money, with *Judas*, betray'd their Master to be *Crucifi'd*.

All this and More was not only the Effect of the Covenant, but the very The Rigours of the Covenant. *Drift*, and *Meaning* of it ; as appears by the Artificial Improvement of it to all their Purposes: (being the very Test of the Faction.) No man was allow'd to Practise the *Law* ; No man Admitted into the *Ministry*, that had not taken it ; and it was Impos'd, under a Penalty upon the Whole Nation. And Then After the Taking of it, it was made *Death* for any man to return to his Allegiance ; and all the Deserters of the Conspiracy, that were murder'd under a Form of Justice, were put to Death for *Breach of Covenant*.

When

*The Kirk
Betray'd,
and Sold
the King
in his Di-
stress.*

When the late King, May 1646. in his Distress, apply'd himself to the Scotch, and they receiv'd him, as into Protection; his Friends were kept from him at Newcastle, by as strict an Order, as afterwards at Holdenby. But they Formaliz'd the Matter however, *how Base a thing it would be for Scotland to Deliver up their King; and how Inconsistent with the Duty of their Covenant, and how Dishonourable to the Army; to whom in his Extreme Danger he had Recourse for Safety.* The Scotch Commissioners also Aggravating the Matter. If it be Contrary (say they) to the Law, and Common Practice of Nations, to deliver up the meanest Subject, fled to them, tho' it be for the greatest Crimes; How much more would the World abroad Condemn our Army for a Base, Dishonourable Act, if they should deliver up their Head, and Sovereign (having cast himself into their Hands) to be Dispos'd of at the Arbitrament of another Nation? Nay, (says the Chancellour) I shall desire that the Word of Disposing of the Kings Person, may be rightly understood for to Dispose of the Kings Person, as Both Houses, or Both King-

*Lawden's
Second
Speech at
a Confe-
rence, Oct.
6. 1646.*

*Answer to
the Vote of
Sept. 24.
1646.*

*Kingdoms shall think fit, may in some sence, be to Depose, or worse. But alas! these Difficulties only stuck till the Price was agreed upon. How Stiff they were, till the Bargain was Struck, and after That, how Flat, and Supple! For Then he tells his Majesty plainly, If he refuses the Pro-^{London's} positions, Both Kingdoms will be Constrain'd ^{Speech to his Majesty.} (for their Mutual Safety) to agree, and settle Religion, and Peace without him. And he is told afterward by the Pretended Declaration of the Kingdome of Scotland, of Jan. 16. 1646. that by reason of his Refusal, there would be a Joynt Course taken by Both Kingdoms concerning the Disposal of his Person. And Then a little After, [with respect had to the Safety, and Preservation of his Royal Person. * In the Preservation, and Defence of the True Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms. According to the COVENANT, &c.] On Feb. 12. They Exhort their Covenanted Brethren (the Assembly at Westminster) to hold fast their Solemn League, and Covenant; to Enter-tain a Brotherhood, and Unity between the Nations; but not a Syllable of the King.*
And

And again Jan. 18. the *General Assembly* of the *Kirk* presses the Two Houses to a *Speedy Establishment of the Presbytery*. (And here again no Mention of his Majesty.)

*The Cove-
nanters
Barbarous
Propositi-
ons to his
Late Ma-
jesty.*

But what's the Sum now of these *Propositions* that stand in Competition with the Kings *Freedome, Life, and Dignity*? First; *Only the Justifying, and Confirming of all they had done*. Secondly; *The giving away of the Militia of England, and Ireland, for Twenty Years, with Power to Raise Men and Money*. Thirdly; *His Majesty must Swear, and Sign the Covenant; Impose it upon the Three Kingdomes; Abolish Episcopacy, and settle Religion, as Both Houses shall Agree*. Fourthly; *All Honours (since 1642.) must be made Null and Void; No Peers admitted in Parliament, for the Future, but by Consent of the Two Houses*. Fifthly; *All Great Places, and Offices of Honour in England, and Ireland, to be Dispos'd of by Consent of Parliament; and in Fine; his Majesty must deliver to Death, Beggery, and Scorn all that ever Serv'd him*.

Thus

Thus was this *Glorious Prince Betray'd, and Sold*, according to the COVENANT. Here's the *True English* of it, and the Divinity of that *Moloch*, to which this Nation has offer'd up so many Noble *Sacrifices*. Are not our Fundamental *Laws, Persons, Consciences, and Estates*, Secure, and Happy, under the Care, and Wing of such Blessed *Guardians*? How meanly have we Prostituted the Reverence of the Land, and of the Government, to the Lusts of these Imperious, Shameless Ravishers! Take Notice here of some of the *Kirks* following *Resolves* upon the Main Point in Question. First, *That the Kings Taking of the Scotch Covenant, and Passing Some of the Propositions, does not Warrant Scotland to Assist him against England.* Secondly; *That upon bare Taking the National Covenant, they may not Receive him.* Thirdly; *That the Clause in the Covenant for Defence of the Kings Person, is to be understood In Defence, and Safety of the Kingdom.* Fourthly; *That his Majesty shall Execute no Power in Scotland, without satisfying every Point.* Fifthly; *That Refusing the*

Propositions, be shall be dispos'd of according to the Covenant, and the Treaties.

The Two Houses as bad as the Scotch.

Not would the *Two Houses* Probably have Us'd him any better if he had gone to Them. For, upon his First withdrawing himself, they Voted it *Treason, and Death without Mercy, for any Man to Harbour, and Conceal the Kings Person, (upon a Supposition that his Majesty was then in London.)* This was the 4th of May; and on the 6th, the *Commons* Voted him to *Warrick Castle*, which was Unvoted again, upon the 9th; and in June, they Voted the *Kings going to the Scots, a Design to prolongue the War.*

It was the Faction of Scotland, not the Nation, that Ruin'd the King.

Let me not appear to Confound the *Faction of Scotland* with the *Nation*; for no Country affords greater Instances of Integrity, and Honour. Nay, I have heard it from good Authority, that the *Kings going into Scotland, (which he most earnestly desir'd) was carry'd in the Negative, only by Two Voyces.*

Their dealing with the King at Holdenby.

His Majesty is now under the Care of his New Governours, and a Prisoner to the *Covenanters at Holdenby*; where he desir'd only *Two* of his *Chaplains* that had
not

not taken the *Covenant*; and Then, a *Common-Prayer Book* for his own *Private Use*, but Neither could be Granted him.

At the *Iſle of Wight*, the ſame Faction had the handling of him again; where they ſtill Treated his Maſteſty much at the ſame Rate. And they Uſ'd his *Royal Succellour* not much better in 1650. When, to Auspicate the Project for the Recovery of his Crown, in the very Dependence of a Treaty at *Breda* with him; upon the Inſtigation of the *Kirk*; they Murth'd the Brave, and Generous *Montroſs*, with the moſt horrid Circumſtances of Malice Imaginable: And how they Uſ'd the King himſelf afterward at his Coming among them, I am not willing to mention.

Their Rigour at the Iſle of Wight; and the Horrid Murther of Montroſs.

Nay, when the Time appointed by Gods Providence was come for the Reſtoring of the King, the *Presbyterian Miniſters* in *London* Publifh'd a kind of Squinting Gratulation upon That Occaſion; as if Popery were coming in with his Maſteſty for Company. And the ſame Party, upon the Re-Admiſſion of the *Secluded Members*, preſs'd upon the Houſe

The Covenanters Juſtifie the Murther of the Late King, upon the Reſtauration of This.

of Commons these Two following Votes, for the Justification of the Rebellion in 1641. and in order to the Exclusion of the Royal Party from the next Choice.

1. *Ido Acknowledge, and Declare, that the War undertaken by Both Houses of Parliament in their Defence against the Forces rais'd in the Name of the Late King, was Just, and Lawful; and that Magistracy, and Ministry are the Ordinances of God.*

2. *Resolv'd that All, and Every Person, who have Advised, or Voluntarily Aided, Abetted, Assisted, in any War against the Parliament, (since the First day of Jan. 1641.) His, or Their Sons, (unless He, or They, have since manifested their Good Affections to This Parliament) shall be Un capable to be Elected, to serve as Members of the next Parliament. So that as their Feud against Kings, is Implacable, their Aversion likewise to all those that Love their Prince, descends from Generation to Generation.*

Presbytery is Inconsistent with any other Govern-ment.

How Inconsistent *Presbytery* is with *Monarchy*, is sufficiently manifest. But they'l say for themselves, that *Kings* may be *Misled*; and that it is not the *Form* of Govern-

Government that is Grievous to Them, but the *Male-Administration* of it. To which, it may be Reply'd, That *All Governours*, under what Form soever, are to *Them*; *Alike*, where they *themselves* are not *Uppermost*: And that the Reformation of Personal Failings will not do their Business without the Total Subversion of all those wholesome, and Profitable Laws that stand in the Way of their Discipline: It being their Custome to Reproach *Princes*, and their *Ministers*, for intraining the *Prerogative*, while they Themselves at the same time, Usurp over *Kings*, *Parliaments*, and *People*: And Trample under their Feet, All that is Sacred in *Society*, and *Government*.

Princes, 'tis true, may have their *Errours*, and their *Passions*; but what have the Innocent *Laws* done? Are They *Possibly Affected* too? But where ever *Presbytery* reigns, there can be no *Law*, but their own *Will*. Did they not (in *Scotland*) Damn *Bishops*, as *Anti-Christian*, and Deprive *Ecclesiastiques* of their *Voyces* in *Parliament*, *Convention*, and *Council*? The Presbyterians Will is their Law.

cil? notwithstanding Three Acts of Parliament; that is to say, of 1584. 1597. and 1606. expressly to the Contrary. And did they not pronounce the Acts of the Assemblies of *Glasgow*, and *Perth* to be *Void*, and *Illegal*, tho' Enacted as *Municipal Laws*? Ask them now (says his Late Majesty; Large Declaration, Pag. 416.) *by what Authority they do these things*, expressly against Acts of Parliament, Acts of Council, and Acts of General Assemblies. They Answer, that Those Acts of Assembly were unduely Obtain'd; and that now they have Rescinded them. For Acts of Parliament, and Acts of Council, they Express great Wonder that any man should Question their Authority over Them: For if Christ be above the King, Christs Council must likewise be Supreme; Parliaments being only the Council of the Kingdom. And for the Kings Privy Council, and Judges, they must submit to the Councillours, and Judges under Christ, who is the King of Kings. Nor is it all that they assume to themselves an Arbitrary Rule; but whoever refuses Subscription, and Obedience to their Acts, and Decrees, stands Excommunicate without Mercy.

Mercy. And Then (if he persist) follows *Out-Lawry*; *Forfeiture of his Goods*; his *Revenue for Life*; *Letters of Caption* for the Seizing of his *Person*; and *Close Commitment* as a *Traytour*. If he does not yet Appear, they take out *Letters of Intercommuning*; making it *Treason to Receive*, or hold any *Correspondence* with him. This is Executed by a *Warrant to the Civil Judge* from a *Commissioner of the Presbytery*; and upon his Refusal, to see the Sentence put in Execution, he himself incurs the same Danger.

And the same Tyranny was Exercis'd by the *Two Houses* upon the *English Government*; Whose Orders were Impos'd upon the Nation, for *Laws*, and *Obedience* requir'd to them, under Pain of *Life*, *Liberty*, or *Estate*, at Pleasure.

The Tyranny of the Pretended Parliament in 1641.

What a Mockery is it now to talk of *Religion*, *Kings*, *Parliaments*, or *Laws*, where the *Dictates of Mechaniques* shall Over-rule the *Articles of the Apostolique Faith*; and the Vote of a *Seditious Conventicle*, Dissolve the *Order*, and *Authority of a Legal*, and *Establis'd Government*?

The

*The Tyranny of the Presbytery over
the Consciences, Lives, Liber-
ties and Estates of the People.*

ALtho' These Usurpations upon the King, and the Government it self, do Naturally Presuppose, and Imply an Oppression upon the Subject; It will not be amiss yet, more particularly to Expose the Inevitable, and the Scandalous Slavery of living under *That Dominion*; as well in regard of their *Unlimited Power*, as of their *Inherent Cruelty, and Rigour*.

In the Matter of *Conscience, Life, Liberty, and Estate*, Enough is said already in the very Case of their *Covenants*; wherein, without any respect to the *Lawfulness* of the *Thing*, or the *Conscience* of the *Person*, it was *Sequestration*, and *Emprisonment*, to *Refuse* them, even where it was the Hazard of *Damnation* to *Take* them: and being once *Engag'd*, 'twas *Death* to *Repent*. The History of *Scotland* abounds with Instances upon This Subject; but I shall rather bring my Observations Home, to the *Covenanters* of our *Own Age, and Nation*.

The

The Early Plunders of Sir *John Lucas*, Sir *William Boteler*, The Lady *Rivers*; with other Persons of Eminent Condition, both *Lay-men*, and *Divines*, are to be read at large, with the Inhumane Insolences that were Acted upon their Persons, and Relations, in *Mercurius Rusticus*: but the Out-rages that follow'd, were so Great, and so Many, that These are hardly worth the Mentioning, and the Other would be too Tedious to Recite; for the Whole Story of the Rebellion was carry'd on with Rapine, and Bloud. How many Noble-mens Houses were turn'd to Prisons, without the Masters knowing either his Accuser, or his Offence? Several Gentlemen of Quality put on *Ship-board*, and half smother'd in the Heat of the Year; where they contracted Diseases, and by an Arbitrary Power were to have been *Transported* nobody knew whither. Others were Sold for *Slaves* into Plantations: Near 100 *Ministers* were brought out of the *West*, and Clapp'd up in *Lambeth-house*, where almost all of them were Destroy'd by a Pestilential Feaver. Nay; so Profane was

The Tyranny, Cruelty, and Profaneness of the English Covenanters.

L their

their Barbarity, that upon *Sunday* the 5th of *March* 1642. Dr. *Featly* Preaching that day, at *Lambeth-house*, order was given to dissolve the Congregation, and the Reformers took with them some great Guns to do the Work: At which time some Mischief was done, and there had been more, but for a Gentleman, who is at present an Eminent Person in the City, who snacht away the *Linstock* just as they were going to give fire upon the Congregation, into the Quire of the Chappel. This I have upon the Credit of a Man of Worth, and Value. I could tell you of a Minister in *Covent-Garden* that refus'd Christian Burial to the Body of a Gentleman that was Quarter'd for his Loyalty; One that made it a *Moot-Point*, upon an *Anniversary Fast*, whether or no the *Kings Death* were a *Murder*.

They Disposed of our Estates, and Persons, at Pleasure.

And These People were as well the Masters of our Estates, as of our Persons: (See *Scobell's Collection of Acts, and Ordinances*) by their own Power, taking upon them to *Sequester Delinquents*; Borrow Money upon

upon the *Publique Fairb* ; gathering of Other Peoples *Rents*, and *Debts* ; *Levy- ing of Money* ; *Raising of Horse* ; *Assessing at Pleasure* ; *Sequestering Church and Crown- Lands* ; Gulling the People with *Irish Ad- ventures* ; Laying new *Imposts* ; Author- izing the Breaking Open of Locks ; and Examining upon Othe, for Discovery of Delinquents *Money*, and *Goods* ; *Raising, Continuing, and Enlarging* several *Excises* ; Borrowing *Money* for the *Scots* ; *Taxing the Whole Nation* ; Appropriating the Pro- fits of *Tonnage*, and *Poundage* to them- selves ; Compounding for *Wardships* : Be- side their Impositions of a *Weekly Meal* ; their *Monthly Assessments* ; and other Im- positions upon the People to an Incre- dible Value, and without any Colour of Law.

As there is no *Freedom* either of *Con- science*, *Person*, or *Estate*, under their Boundless Dominion ; so there's no living under them, with either *Peace*, or *Repu- tation*. If a Man and a Woman Live in such a manner of Conversation, that it is Possible for them to be Lewd together

Their Scand- alous and Unchari- table Cen- sures.

in Private, the *Presbytery* shall take it for granted that they are so; and without any Evidence, require them *publicly* the next Lords day, perhaps, before the *Congregation* to discharge themselves upon *Othe* that they are *Innocent*. Which if they do, and that they purge themselves of the suspected Crime, they shall yet be forc'd to do *open Penance* for their *Misbehaviour*. But if two Persons shall be Presented, under a Suspicion of *Incontinence*, and that being Conven'd, and Examin'd, there shall appear any strong Presumptions that they are so; tho' there be no Proof in the Case, they shall yet be made *Close Prisoners*, to feed on *Bread and Water*, and no body to come at them; to try, if either by *Proof*, or *Confession*, any thing can be made out against them by the *next Court-day*: If not, they are Dismiss'd, but upon Condition, that if ever they be seen together again, unless in the *Church*, or in the *Market*, it shall be taken *pro Confesso* that they are *Guilty*. There was a *Husband* that confessed to his *Wife* some Faults that he had committed, and She out of Zeal told a *Presbyterian* Mini-

Minister the Story; for which the *Minister* very fairly *Convented* him, and made him do *Publique Penance*. This Practice has Parted many Men and their Wives; and stirr'd up Feuds never to be Reconcil'd. Nay a man shall not Sue for a Debt upon a Bond, or a Landlord, for his Rent, but the *Presbytery* shall take the Judgment of it to Themselves, as a Course Scandalous to the Profession, where any of their own Gang is Concern'd. They must have an Oar in every Boat. In *Scotland* they interpos'd in the Business of *Salt-Pans*, *Salmon-Fishing*, *Fairs*, and *Markets*; and fell heavily upon some *Scottish Merchants* in *Edinburgh*, for carrying Wheat to *Spain* in a time of Dearth. But the Trade of *Wax* thither, was Unpardonable, as not only feeding Gods *Enemies*, but maintaining their *Idolatry*. To say nothing of the Absurdity, in their Constitution, of making *Tradesmen Judges* in Matters of *Faith*; and the Unmannerly Temper of it, where a *Taylor*, or a *Shoe-maker* shall Sit, and Vote Check by Jowle with his *Sovereign*.

Having

Having made a Faithful Report of the *Pretended Powers*, the *Avow'd Principles*, and the *Open Practices* of these Troublers of our *Israel*, so far as the Discovery may honestly conduce to our Present Purpose; we shall now lay open *the Mystery of Iniquity*, in the *Secret Contrivances* of their *Cabal*; and upon no less Authority, than the Faith, and Honour of *King Charles the Martyr*, in his Remarques upon the Proceedings of the *Scottish Covenanters*.

The Scot-
tish Gene-
ral Table
was the
Pattern of
the English
Close
Commit-
tee.

The Device of our *standing Committees* in 1641. with *Subordination* to the *Close Committee*, was only an Imitation of the *Preparatory Tables of Advice* in *Scotland*, with *Subordination* to their *General Table*. And There, Effectually; was lodged the last Result of Counsel. It was Compos'd of Men of *Brains*, *Popularity*, *Boldness*, and such as were most *Obstinately Engag'd* to the *Faction*; whether *Preaching*, or *Ruling-Elders*. The Acts of *Assembly* were but the Dictates of the *General Table*; as in *England* the *Two Houses* still agreed to the sense of the *Close Committee*. There it was, that the
Abuses

Abuses of Government were Inspected; Reformati^ons Modell'd; Court-Offices dispos'd of; all Conspiracies Form'd, and Digested; And the Preachers Expressly directed what Points to Press, and which Nail to drive. There can be no better Accompt given of their *under-band dealing*, than they give of Themselves, in their *two Private Papers of Instructions* (Printed in the Late Kings *Large Declaration*, Fol. 282. &c. with his Majesties Notes upon them) toward the Securing of a *General Assembly* (which was to meet at Glasgow, Nov. 21. 1638.) The One of them being directed to one *Lay-Elder*; and the Other, to *some One Minister in every Presbytery*, for the Packing of their Party. In the Former of them you have in terms these following Particulars in Charge.

That some one Minister, and Gentleman Their Private Instructions. *in every Presbytery meet oft together, to resolve upon the Particular Commissioners to be Chosen, and use all diligence with the rest of the Ministers and Gentlemen, that such may be Chosen.*

And

And Because nothing will avail so much for our Purpose, where the most part of the Ministers are disaffected, as that the Gentlemen be present to Vote in Presbyteries, it would be presently try'd whether this be put in Execution; and if the Minister be slow in urging it, the Gentlemen themselves to urge it, and put themselves in Possession.

That they linger not, they would be urged again to send their Commissioners to Edinburgh before the First of October; by this we shall know our own strength the better at our Meeting.

And the Gentlemen (at least the greatest part of them) would be warned to be at Edinburgh, Septemb. 20. And that only the Gentlemen who are nam'd Commissioners to the Presbytery for choosing their Commissioners for the Assembly, with some to assist them, that day stay at home, and those to come away immediately after the Election.

That in every Presbytery there be a Particular Care taken of the Informations against the Prelates, for Instructing our Complaints.

The Other Paper of Private Instructions of Aug. 27. 1638: runs as follows:

THese Private Instructions shall be discovered to none but to Brethren well affected to the Cause.

Order must be taken that none be Chosen Ruling-Elders, but Covenanters, and Those well affected to the Business.

That where the Minister is not well Affected, the Ruling-Elders be Chosen by the Commissioners of the Shire, and spoken to particularly for that Effect.

That they be careful no Chapter-men, Chappel-men, or a Minister, Justice of the Peace, be chosen, although Covenanters, except they have publicquely renounc'd, or declar'd the Unlawfulness of their Places.

That the Ruling-Elders come from every Church in equal Number with the Ministers, and if the Minister Oppose, to put themselves in Possession notwithstanding any Opposition.

That the Commissioner of the Shire cause Convene before him the Ruling-Elder of every Church, Chosen before the day of

the Election, and enjoyn them upon their Oath, that they give Vote to none, but to those who are Nam'd already at the Meeting at Edinburgh.

That where there is a Nobleman within the Bounds of the Presbytery, He be Chosen: And where there is none, there be Chosen a Baron, or one of the Best Quality, and be only a Covenanter.

*The Medly
of their
Assembly.*

The King observes (Fol. 315.) that *This Assembly of Glasgow had not so much as the Face of an Ecclesiastical Meeting; not a Gown worn by any Member of it, unless it was by one or two Ministers that liv'd in the Town: The Appearance of it was in a manner, wholly Laical. Among the Members of it, were Seaven Earls, Ten Lords, Forty Gentlemen, One and Fifty Burgesses, many of them in Colour'd Cloths, and Swords by their Sides; all which did give Voyces, not only in very high Points of Controversie, but also in the Sentences of Excommunication pronounc'd against the Bishops, and Others. Nay, and all things in the Assembly carri'd by the Sway of these Lay-Elders; In-
somuch that it was a very rare thing to hear a Minister speak there.*

*The Gene-
ral Assem-
bly is but
the Embryo
of a Com-
mon-
wealth.*

Now let any man Judg whether this be a Church-Assembly, or the Embryo of a Common-Wealth: A Conscientious Consultation for the Reforming of Religion, or a Seditious Practice for the Embroiling of the State. How applicable is that Invective against Popery (in the Libel concerning the Growth of it) to the Case of Presbytery? The Power of it is Absolute

*lute (says the Author of it) and the Decree is Infal-
lible. It can change the very Nature of things ; ma-
king what is Just, to be Unjust, and what is Vice, to be
Virtue. All Laws are in the Cabinet of its Breast, and
it can dispose of Kingdoms, and Empires as it pleases.
It makes it a Mortal Sin even to doubt of any part of
its Religion ; and demands, under pain of Damnation,
the Subjection of all Christians to its Authority. That
Word of Reformation misappl'd, has serv'd it to ju-
stifie all the Executions, Assassinations, Wars, Massacres,
and Devastations, whereby the Discipline hath been
Propagated. It is almost Unconceivable how Princes
can yet suffer a Power so Pernicious, and Doctrine so De-
structive to all Government. Their strict Othes, and
Vows of Obedience to the Presbytery Evacuate the
Fealty due to the Sovereign.*

What difference now (more than in the Name) Presbyte-
rial Ty-
ranny. betwixt the Papal Tyranny, as he has set it forth,
and the Presbyterial, as it appears from their own
Words, and Deeds ? What Power can be more *Absol-
ute*, Or what Decrees more *Infalible*, than That
of the *Presbytery* ; Which challenges *Obedience* to all
its Dictates, both from *Prince*, and *People*, under pain
of *Life*, *Liberty*, *Dominion*, and *Estate* ? It Over-
rules *Laws* ; sets up *Othes* of *Treason* against *Othes* of
Allegiance ; and covers the Crime of *Rebellion* with
the Title of *Virtue*. It takes upon it self the Office
of *Christs Vicar* ; *Deposes Kings* ; and under the
Masque of *Religion*, dissolves the *Order*, and *Autho-
rity* of all Governments. *The King* in his Declaration
before-Mention'd, (Fol. 404.) among other of their
Unchristian Extravagances, takes Notice of their Re-
fusal to Pray for Sir William Nesbitt upon his Death-
bed,

bed, because he had not Subscrib'd the Covenant; and that they did Formally bar non-Covenanters from the Communion, in Express terms with Blasphemers, and Adulterers; refusing Baptism in the Churches of Ministers that had not taken the Covenant, even to Children that were born in the same Parish.

The Unchristian Rigour of this Discipline is such (says the Author of Toleration Discus'd, Pag. 334.) that It Crucifies weak Consciences with Needles, Infinite, and Incurable Scruples, that Haunt, Dog, and Torment us in the most Necessary, and Ordinary Actions of Humane Life: At the Church, at the Table, at the Market, at Home, and Abroad: At all Times, in all Places, and upon all Occasions; in our Thoughts, Words, and Deeds.

Excess in
Eating
Censurable.

As to Excess in Eating; It is Censurable either in the Quantity, or in the Quality. So that in the first place the Eldership is to provide one Common Gage for the Stomachs of the Whole Parish, for fear of a Mouthful too much. And in the second Place, It is made a matter of Salvation, or Damnation, whether a man Eats Beef, or Venison.

In Apparel.

And so for Excess in APPAREL, one Inch more than to cover your Shame is a Superfluity; and One Penny more in the Pound than the Allowance of the Presbytery, is made as much a mans Soul is Worth.

Vain
Words.

It is the same thing for VAIN WORDS. A Nurse shall not dare to still her Child but with a Psalm; and you must not presume so much as to ask What a Clock it is, without a Text to prove that the Question tends to Edification.

Chiding.

Nay they have drawn CHIDING within the Com-

Compass of Ecclesiastical Censure. So that Masters shall not reprove their Servants, nor Parents their Children, without Leave of the Eldership. And they have taken in BRAWLING too; and made every Billingsgate Quarrel a Subject of Consistorial Cognizance.

Under LEWD CUSTOMES are Censur'd ^{Lewd Customs.} all sorts of Publique Sports, Exercises, and Recreations that have been long in Use, as having their Original from the Times of Paganism, or Popery; As Comedies, Interludes, Wraftlings, Foot-Ball-Play, May-Games, Whitson-Ales, Morrice-Dances, Bear-Batings, &c. All GAMES that bring Loss, are also Prohibited; as Tennis, Bowls, Billyards, &c. And so are UNCOMELY GESTURES; So that a man may be given to the Devil for Lolling upon his Elbow, or Sitting upon his Back-side before the Deacon of the Parish. Nay, our very THOUGHTS are Censurable, and 'tis enough to be suspected, if that sues to recover a Debt shall be suspected of Avarice; and he that refuses to Crouch like the Ass under the Burthen, shall be suspected of Pride.

To pass now from their Rigours, to their Scruples; ^{Radiculous Scruples.} There goes a Story of some of them that made it a Matter of Religion, to Piss a Bed, and Ride Hobby-Horses, because it is said, Except you become as little Children, you shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. But Bancroft (in his Holy Discipline, Pag. 368.) tells you of those that made Hawking, and Hunting, and Womens laying out of Hair, to be Cases of Conscience; and Walker consults Field particularly, whether it be in any respect Tolerall: for Women that profess Religion, and the Reformation,

tion, to wear Doublets, Little Hats with Feathers; Great Gowns after the French, and Outlandish Fashion; Great Ruffs, and Hair, either Curl'd or Friz'd, or set out upon Wyres, &c. And Chalmlye desires to be resolv'd whether the strict Prohibition of not Kindling of fire on the Sabbath be of the substance of the Moral Precept.

Among all these Scruples I find no Difficulty made in the Cases of Dethroning Kings; Demolishing Churches; Killing, and taking Possession, &c. But to conclude, with the Treatise aforesaid;

From the Triple-Crown'd Consistory; that Lords it over Souls, Bodies, and Estates; over Kings, Nobles, and Commons; over Laws, Magistrates, and all Sorts, and Ranks of Men, and Interests; That Turns Gospel into Law; Communities into Deserts; Men into Beasts;

Good LORD DELIVER US.

THE END.

